NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

MAY 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO. 5

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NEWS for League Members 229

The Place to Start ..... *Editorial*

Is Civic Education a Fraud? ..... *O. Garfield Jones*

Rooms for the Baby Crop ..... *Roy E. Larsen*

They Learn About Elections ..... *Richard C. Spencer*

California Studies State Reorganization 246

Press Supports County Streamlining 254

Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257

U. S. Ends Restraint on State-local Bonds 260

Columbia Voters Kill Manager Repealer 263

Governor's Cabinet Holds Management Seminars 267

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National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

NEWS for League Members

Local Leaders Plan Conference

San Antonio civic leaders met April 3 to begin making plans for the National Conference on Government, which will be held in that city November 17, 18 and 19.

Alex R. Thomas, general manager of George C. Vaughan and Sons and a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, was chosen chairman of the local arrangements committee. Mrs. B. H. Passmore, president of the San Antonio League of Women Voters, was named vice chairman and Edward G. Conroy, director of the San Antonio Bureau of Governmental Research, secretary.

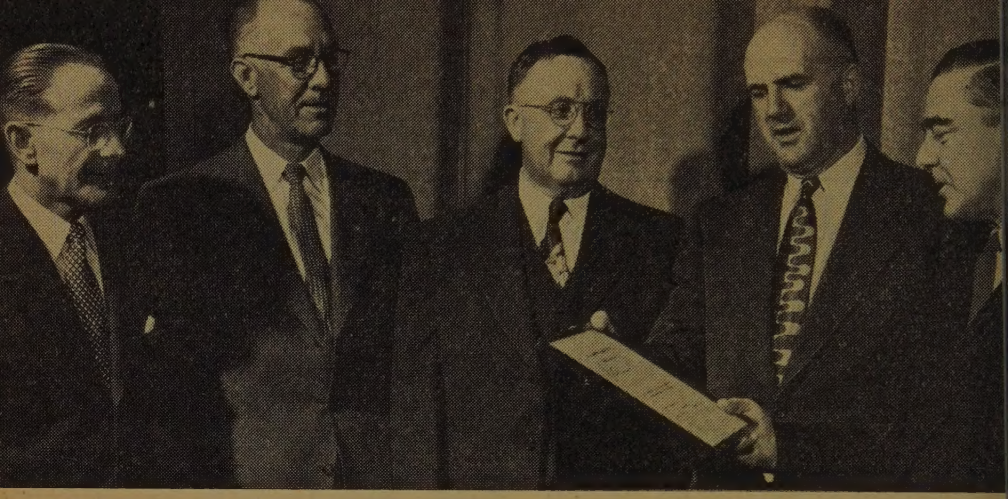
Others present at the meeting, in addition to Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML director of field services, were:

Mrs. Lee S. Fountain, representing the League of Women Voters and the Minute Women of San Antonio; Miss Elizabeth Boerner, Zonta International; Mrs. Emily Netter, Pilot Club; Mrs. Emma Kitchen, Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Mrs. Herbert Frees, Soroptomist Club; Mrs. Edwin M. Brown, City Federation of Women's Clubs; Harry J. Krusz, executive vice president, Chamber of Commerce (also representing Rotary Club); William B. Arnold, American Federation of Labor; Presley Wiggs, Lions Club; C. A. Harrell, city manager of San Antonio; Henry Lee Taylor, commander, Business and Professional Post of the American Legion; Jack Person, Exchange Club; and E. W. Sasse, Cosmopolitan Club.

Pre-conference entertainment of delegates and sightseeing will be sponsored by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. Local civic groups will co-sponsor the three luncheons and the November 18 dinner.

Reasonable post-conference trips to Mexico may be arranged by those who wish to plan them. Some will be described in later issues of the REVIEW. Trips to Mexico before or after the Conference may be added at small extra cost to round-trip fares to San Antonio.

Meeting to plan the 1952 National Conference on Government are, left to right, top row: Alex R. Thomas, Harry J. Krusz, William B. Arnold, Presley Wiggs, Allen H. Seed, Jr., C. A. Harrell, Edward G. Conroy, Henry Lee Taylor, Jack Person, E. W. Sasse; bottom row: Mrs. Lee S. Fountain, Miss Elizabeth Boerner, Mrs. Emily Netter, Mrs. Emma Kitchen, Mrs. Herbert Frees and Mrs. Edwin M. Brown.



—*Asheville Citizen Photo.*

Receiving "All-American Cities" award from Roy E. Larsen (right) are, left to right: H. E. Johnson, chairman of the Asheville school board; Mayor Earl Eller; Dr. B. E. Morgan, chairman of the Buncombe County Board of Education, and Coke Candler, chairman of the County Board of Commissioners.

School Restoration Wins Award

Citizen leaders of Asheville and Buncombe County, North Carolina, received an "All-American Cities" certificate April 2 at a mass meeting attended by 3,000 persons in the City Auditorium.

Roy E. Larsen, president of *Time, Inc.*, and chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the Public Schools, made the presentation on behalf of the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune*, co-sponsors of the "All-American Cities" competition.

The Asheville - Buncombe County area was chosen as one of the 1951 winners, Mr. Larsen pointed out, because of the effective action of its citizens in sweeping away the "accumulated effects of twenty neglectful years" and working together as a bi-racial group to bring about major improvements in its public schools. (See page 238 for Mr. Larsen's address.)

Mr. Larsen was introduced by D. Hiden Ramsey, vice chairman of the State Board of Education. Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, state superintendent of public instruction, who was introduced by Frank M. Parker, vice chairman of the Better Schools Committee, praised the citizens for voting the school bond issue.

The award was accepted on behalf of the county by Coke Candler, chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, who was accompanied by Dr. B. E. Morgan, chairman of the County Board of Education. Residents of the city were represented by Mayor Earl Eller and H. E. Johnson, chairman of the city school board.

James G. K. McClure, co-chairman of the original 18-man Citizens Committee and also a member of the present 100-man committee, presided. A high school chorus of 700, directed by Joseph DeNardo, sang.

Asheville-Buncombe County was one of eleven communities chosen last year by an NML jury headed by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and member of the League's Council, for progress achieved through intelligent, effective citizen action.

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Contents for May 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 229

EDITORIAL COMMENT 232

IS CIVIC EDUCATION A FRAUD? ..... *O. Garfield Jones* 234

ROOMS FOR THE BABY CROP ..... *Roy E. Larsen* 238

THEY LEARN ABOUT ELECTIONS ..... *Richard C. Spencer* 242

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION ..... *H. M. Olmsted* 246

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP ..... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 254

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ..... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 257

TAXATION AND FINANCE ..... *Wade S. Smith* 260

CITIZEN ACTION ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 263

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST ..... *John E. Bebout* 267

BOOKS IN REVIEW 272

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

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Editorial Comment

The Place to Start

POPULAR reactions to recurrent revelations of graft, influence mongering and politico-criminal alliances recall the alternate breast beating, soul searching and defiant reversion to sin of the lusty Old Testament patriarchs.

There *is* a difference between right and wrong that is usually clear to anyone not blinded by self-interest. But some of the issues are complicated and the old Adam has a way of cropping up to confuse people when they face borderline issues.

The reports of the Douglas Committee[1] and the earlier Kefauver Committee[2] have inspired a growing body of thoughtful writing by people in and out of public office. This literature shows wide recognition of the seriousness and ramifications of the subject at the same time that it stresses fundamental issues on which the National Municipal League has been working for many years.

In the long run the one absolutely necessary thing is a substantial increase in the general participation of citizens from the grass roots up. Where basic political tasks at the precinct level are performed by volunteers rather than by mercenaries of the machine the soil simply does not nourish the kind of political weeds that have been springing up faster than the cleanup squads could pull them out. The Douglas Committee recognizes the need for starting at the bottom by commenting:

"While we primarily deal in this report with the ethical problems of the national government, we should recognize that conditions in Washington and in government agencies are but the reflection of what also occurs on state and local levels, only in an aggravated form. If citizens who decry failures on the national level would take more interest in their local elections and in party organization, many of the sources of infection would be cleared up. Citizens cannot absolve themselves of responsibility because of their inaction and indeed their frequent connivance with low standards of ethics in all walks of life and all levels of government."

This is the idea that led local citizen organizations to establish the National Municipal League 58 years ago to help them clear out the governmental and political underbrush that impedes effective citizen action for good government. The founding of the League came near the beginning of an era of reform which is still rolling. Since the war the momentum has increased.

This means that the underlying state of public morals is better than appears on the surface because the postwar civic revival has been characterized by an unprecedented amount of purposeful citizen effort at the local level, the full effects of

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[1] *Ethical Standards in Government*, Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1951.

[2] See "Crime Up to States and Cities," the REVIEW, July 1951, page 354, excerpts from *Third Interim Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce*, U. S. Senate, 1951.

which have not yet had time to be felt throughout the system. The battle between higher standards of governmental ethics and lagging performance is essentially a battle to enlighten citizens everywhere with the knowledge of what an increasing number of their fellows have done and are doing in their own back yards.

Charles P. Taft, in an article[3] entitled "What Is the Civic Conscience?" points out that "the failures of integrity in the political headquarters in Washington reflect any and all failures of integrity right down the party line to the precinct." Out of his own experience he suggests one practical method of improving the moral climate at the local level when he pays tribute to the "permanent impress on the moral and ethical standards" of his home city by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee which, more than a quarter of a century ago, led the people in a local revolution that wiped out the stigma of "the worst governed city" in the United States. It has stayed on the job ever since.

All Levels Improve

Herbert Emmerich, director of Public Administration Clearing House, in the course of penetrating observations on "A Scandal in Utopia"[4] calls attention to "a really astonishing amount of improvement at all levels of government" since 1945. He gives credit to citizen organizations and professional associations of public officials for particularly noteworthy improvement in cities, and cites the fact that the number of places with council-manager government has nearly doubled since the war.

Mr. Emmerich gives other evidence of progress in simplifying local and state governments and making them more responsible and less patronage-minded and concludes: "In spite of the headline rackets that the Kefauver Committee has uncovered, today, in 1952, we need no longer apologize with Lincoln Steffens for 'the shame of the cities,' or deplore with James Bryce the failure of local government in the American commonwealth."

What has been done to make it possible to say this and what needs to be done to complete the reversal of the verdicts of Steffens and Bryce has been pointed out again and again in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[5] Citizens are not apathetic. When they are not effective it is because they are uninformed or are frustrated by outmoded, over-complicated political and governmental systems. The jungle of separate elective officers and badly organized,

(Continued on page 259)

[3] *The Annals*, March 1952, page 142. (Entire issue titled "Ethical Standards in American Public Life.")

[4] *Public Administration Review*, Winter 1952, page 4.

[5] See, for example, "The Home Town Is the Battle Ground," by James M. Osborn, March 1952, page 128; "The Voter Needs a Break," February 1952, page 72; "How to Wake Up an Old State," by Charles Edison, December 1951, page 574; "Revolt of Independents," December 1951, page 564; "What Can An Angry People Do?" May 1951, page 239; "Escape to the Suburbs," April 1951, page 184.

Is Civic Education a Fraud?

University of Toledo thinks not after checking voting habits of grads who took "effective citizenship" course.

By O. GARFIELD JONES*

THE Committee for the Advancement of Teaching of the American Political Science Association has hurled a challenge at instructors who profess to teach effective citizenship in their beginning political science course. The report of this committee[1] says: "Effective citizenship, in at least limited areas, is an observable phenomenon. Course assumptions can be tested and course effectiveness can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy only by evaluating the performances of the student after he has cleared the academic hurdles."

The report goes on to say: "Few departments have made really systematic checks on the civic activities of their graduates or attempted to develop any product-testing device to probe the validity of their instructional premises."

The University of Toledo gives a four-hour course called "Effective Citizenship" that is required of all students (American government, six hours, may be taken as an alternative). Consequently we have accepted this challenge and have checked on the voting behavior of nine graduating classes.

The university had made such a check way back in 1928 by a questionnaire method of doubtful validity. Upon the suggestion of Dr. Thomas H. Reed in 1951, we selected the graduating classes of 1930 and 1931 for a recent study, both because after twenty years students would, of necessity, be settled down as members of their respective communities and because we wished to know whether the stimulating effect of an effective citizenship course in college had a lasting effect on their political behavior. It is common knowledge that the emotional glow of high ideals frequently fades away when the harsh realities of everyday life beat upon the college graduate striving to make a name for himself. After two attempts to use the questionnaire method with the usual 20 per cent return, and after discovering some obvious errors in the few returns we did receive, we turned to a more positive and valid method of checking voting behavior.

The data secured by this positive method seems a bit incredible. One hundred per cent of the 110 graduates checked were registered and all but two voted in the 1950 state election. The method used was to check the alumni list of these two classes against the Toledo city directory—which includes most of the county—

*Dr. Jones, originator of the University of Toledo's "effective citizenship" course, which is required of all students, has been head of the university's Department of Political Science since 1921. He is author of *Parliamentary Procedure at a Glance*, *Senior Manual for Group Leadership* and *Junior Manual for Group Leadership* and a contributor to numerous publications in the political science field.

[1]*Goals for Political Science*. William Sloane Associates, Inc., New York, 1951, page 205.

to get the names and addresses of those still living in Lucas County. Then this list of names and addresses was turned over to the Lucas County Board of Elections where the clerical force checked the voting of each graduate as revealed by the data on his or her registration card.[2]

100 Per Cent Record

The preliminary check indicated that quite a few were not registered. Then we went over this list and found that some of the women listed as not registered were married and the alumni record did not show the married name. Each of these was traced by various methods to get the married name before the registration card could be located. In other cases the alumni in question had died—we do not vote them from the graveyard in Toledo. In a few cases we learned by diligent research that a graduate listed in the alumni list and in the telephone directory under one spelling of the name was listed under a different spelling on the registration card at the board of elections. One alumna who had been married for ten years was still voting under her maiden name.

We had the patience to run down all these cases because each one thus run down from these first two classes made the record better and better, till the total registration of graduates living in Lucas County reached 100 per cent.

With such an excellent record as to registration and voting it was clear that doubting Thomases would insist that the sample was too small for validity, consequently the research was extended to include the classes of 1932 to 1938. This made a total of 652 graduates of the classes of 1930 to 1938 still living in Lucas County. Of this total 622, or 95 2/5 per cent, were registered and 601, or 92 1/5 per cent, voted in the 1950 state election.

The voting records of these graduates for 1947, 1948 and 1949 were not quite as good as that for 1950. This data, however, was also not as valid because not all of Lucas County outside Toledo was a registration area prior to 1950. To check the voting record of electors outside the registration area is simply not practicable.

Unfortunately, this excellent voting record of the graduating class of 1930 and 1931 proved too much so far as the political science department was concerned, because the engineering and pharmacy graduates, who had had no political science, had just as good a voting record as the liberal arts, education, law and business administration graduates who were required to take a political science course.[3]

In the spring of 1928, we had checked on the voting behavior of our graduates by a questionnaire method and found that 65 per cent of the engineers voted in the 1927 municipal election, 71 per cent of the

[2]Ohio has permanent registration in urban areas with provision that not voting for two successive years is taken as *prima facie* evidence that the voter has moved or is dead, and his name is therefore dropped from the poll list.

[3]The engineering and the pharmacy students were not required to take political science until 1935. With their tight professional curricula very few took the subject until it was required of them.

pharmics did, and 75 per cent of the students who had had a political science course did. In comparing the excellent record of the classes of 1930 and 1931 with this earlier data on the 1927 election the question naturally arose as to why such a difference. Then we recalled that in the fall of 1928 the University of Toledo asked the voters of Toledo to approve a $2,850,000 bond issue to buy a new campus and erect buildings. Every student and faculty member participated in the house-to-house canvass in October and helped man the approaches to the polls on election day. The bond issue carried by a 58 per cent vote, which was twice the margin of victory achieved by the public schools in their bond issue campaign in that same election.

Participation the Answer?

Apparently, in the process of persuading the Toledo electorate to vote for the university bond issue in 1928, these students did an even better job of convincing themselves of the importance of voting. Perhaps the best way to teach student participation in politics is to have them participate when undergraduates in a campaign in which they have a great interest.

Just how to bring this about for every student generation is, of course, quite a problem. To attempt this too often could easily involve the university in most serious political difficulties. Certainly we did not put on the 1928 campaign just to teach students to participate in politics. The university needed the bond issue, and needed it badly. It was generally conceded after this campaign of 1928 that the effective citizenship course, especially its precinct report phase, has been a real factor in enabling the students to be effective in political activity. This is an extensive report required of each student as to the party organization and the campaign methods used in his precinct and city plus an estimate of the vote that will be cast in his precinct for the two leading candidates for the most important office to be filled by that election. The accuracy of this estimate counts in the grading.

Perhaps the outstanding conclusion from this experience and this 1950 voting data is that Dr. Reed was making the keenest observation of his remarkable report on *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*[4] when he said: "It appears that where the proper climatic conditions exist [favorable to student participation] excellent results can be accomplished quite independently of course requirements." It should be clear that the precinct report and other phases of our effective citizenship course do facilitate the creation of a favorable climate for student participation in politics.

The university is now extending its research into the voting behavior of graduates to the classes of 1925 to 1928 to see if their voting behavior was definitely less satisfactory than that of the students who participated in the bond issue campaign of October and November 1928.

In any case, the voting behavior

[4]By Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed. New York, Citizenship Clearing House, New York University School of Law, 1952. 180 pages.

of graduates of the classes of 1930 to 1938 is definitely much better than that of the general run of voters in the United States in the 1950 election. There have been statements published in recent years that college trained voters do stay away from the polls in large numbers; perhaps as much as 35 per cent. I have always doubted the validity of these figures. So many things can happen to make one's voting record look worse than it really is, while so few things can happen to make it look better than it really is. A Toledo man moves two miles north across the state line into Michigan but his name remains on the Toledo registration list for two years. One alumnus voted in Toledo in 1948 and in 1950, but not in 1949. In a personal checkup we found that he had moved to Cleveland early in 1949 and voted there, but in 1950 he moved back to Toledo and voted there. All deceased voters continue on the registration rolls for two years before they are dropped.

What Makes Record Look Bad

Added to this total are those who moved to another precinct and neglected to transfer their registration to the new address, those women who got married and failed to re-register under their married names, those who were ill or out of the city and did not apply for absentee ballots in time. We have some graduates who admit that they do not vote, but until I find perfection somewhere else I shall continue to be pretty well satisfied with the voting record of our graduates.

The fact is that much of the bad voting record which makes our national average look so bad is really a tribute to the efficiency of the southern politicians who deliberately plan to keep certain groups from voting. This is not a commendable efficiency. However, it may be just as commendable an efficiency as that of certain countries where 95 per cent of the population vote without any choice as to how they vote. I have always been irked by the citation of the voting record of totalitarian countries as a reflection on the voting record of American citizens.

Of course we would like to see our civic education more effective than it is. Certainly civic education is a basic responsibility of political scientists. We may get confused as to the difference between vocational education and specific education for citizenship. But civic education is not a fraud. It is a major purpose of patriotic teachers and a major achievement of political science instruction.

Rooms for the Baby Crop

Asheville-Buncombe County, overwhelmed, captures national honors by consolidating and expanding its school system.

By ROY E. LARSEN*

WHEN the officers of the National Municipal League asked if I would represent them and their jury of twelve distinguished citizens in Asheville, I welcomed the opportunity. I wanted to see for myself the results of the work for the schools for which the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County have been nationally acclaimed.

After an interesting and instructive tour of the new facilities and sites, I really understand the complex problems to which intelligent citizen thought has found such sound answers. I want to pay tribute to those eighteen good citizens whose initiative, hard work and vision, as members of the advisory committee appointed by the Buncombe County commissioners, have made this progress possible. Under their resourceful and devoted leadership the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County have swept away the accumulated effects of twenty neglectful years. They have consolidated all the school systems of the county into one effective modern unit. They have voted five and a half million dollars for the construction of new buildings and the modernization of old ones.

I have seen some of the handsome new classrooms being built to replace the basements, hallways, even school buses, previously used as classrooms. The provisions the county is making for the five thousand additional pupils expected in the next five years will surely insure adequate facilities for the bumper crop of babies born in the county during the postwar years. All this has been a bi-racial cooperative effort.

Now just what kind of award and recognition is this that has been given to the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County by the National Municipal League and the Minneapolis *Tribune*, which has cooperated in the project. We are all thoroughly aware of the All-American football teams, members of which are selected annually by the sports experts for outstanding performance on the playing field. This city and county have been selected for a more significant kind of All-American team.

For the last three years twelve experts in the field of municipal government have been watching the actions of citizens across the nation and selecting each year the eleven communities in which the citizens, through voluntary organized responsible effort, have done the most effective job in bringing about important changes for the good of their localities.

Until this year, these awards have been made on the basis of action in

*Mr. Larsen, president of Time, Inc., is chairman of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. This article is taken from his April 3 address at Asheville, North Carolina, where he presented the "All-American Cities" award to the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County (see page 230, this issue).

the fields of politics or government. This year the experts recognized that the schools of a community are as important to its well-being as politics, that the schools, in fact, will shape the course of politics and the kind of government a community will get for years to come. So citizen battles for better schools were ranked along with citizen battles for better government.

Action on Schools Awarded

Two of the eleven awards—Asheville and that of Kalamazoo, Michigan—went to the citizens of communities where there is understanding of the importance of public education to the development of the strength of the community and where citizens took effective action to secure better schools.

What has been done so dramatically in Asheville and Buncombe County has helped citizens in thousands of other American communities now working for better schools. This national recognition of that action will create a better understanding by citizens at large of the importance of the best possible education for all our youngsters. Asheville and Buncombe County are in the forefront of a nationwide movement to improve the schools.

After the war, a wave of teachers' strikes focused attention on the country's public school system. Citizens began looking at their schools and were shocked to discover that not only were teachers underpaid but that the public education system was underhoused, underfinanced, understaffed and its goals too frequently confused and inadequate.

It was concern with this school crisis that brought about the formation of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. Very early in the discussion of the crisis this group of laymen recognized that, although the crisis was a national one, the problem could only be solved in individual communities, by the interest and understanding of local citizens. The commission discovered that in those communities where real progress was being made, the citizens had come together to take action.

One of the commission's first actions as an operating group was the establishment of a clearing house for information on citizen activities on behalf of their schools. In the past three years it has seen the formation of citizen committees in more than 1,600 communities. They have written of their problems and requested information about the ways and means employed by other communities in dealing with similar problems. For example, through the Buncombe County committee's reports to the commission, countless other communities have been able to benefit as the experiences of Buncombe County have been passed on to them. Perhaps that group has been helped through learning of the activities of others. Curriculum committees may find helpful suggestions in the report of a similar study being made in Fairfield, Connecticut, or perhaps by the Palo Alto, California, school study committee.

Now some people seem to be afraid of what they call too much education or of education for all. It has been wrongly said that hard-

headed business leaders share that fear and that the taxes needed for school improvement will be resisted by businessmen. It is my opinion that, although that may have been true in the past, it is not so today.

There is a growing realization that a high level of education is more important to business than a low tax rate. Much credit for this new attitude on the part of industry must go to such excellent studies as the one made by Dr. Harold Clark of Columbia University for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Dr. Clark showed irrefutably that a direct relation exists between the level of education and the level of prosperity of a nation.

Education Aid to Prosperity

He points to Colombia, South America, for example. It is the richest land in the world in natural wealth but its people, who are among the world's most illiterate, are also the poorest. On the other hand, little Denmark, with almost no natural resources or hydro-electric power, has one of the highest economic standards in the world; it also has one of the highest educational levels.

Individual businessmen and corporations are learning how essential public education is to their own best interests. Frank Abrams, chairman of the board of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, stated the case some months ago. "The children of this world—wherever they may be—are always marvelous material," he said. "But they are a resource which is being neglected in many places. No institution — no corporation — especially none operating in world markets where the diversity of the human race is most easily observed—can fail to recognize that the ability of our own country to progress is owed to our national acceptance and promotion of universal education as much as it is to anything else.

"In many distant communities—especially where we have to establish operations in lands that are backward by American standards—sheer self-interest has led us, a private business, into education and public health activities as essential operations. In this way we are constantly reminded that public education is good business."

The recent record of school development in North Carolina is evidence that this belief in the importance of the schools is broadspread.

The battle to make our schools competent to meet the needs of the day is a continuous and ever changing one. Our whole concept of education has changed in recent years. In 1900, only 11 per cent of all youth of high school age were in school, but virtually all of them went on to college to study for one of the professions. Today only 20 per cent of our high school graduates go on to college, but 73 per cent of the children of high school age are in high school.

Those who do not go on to college require a wide variety of different kinds of education to prepare them for their places in our complicated industrialized society. Now we expect our public schools to train our young people in woodworking and metal

crafts, in business skills, in the arts of homemaking and agriculture and in various kinds of arts and sports to enable them to use their increased leisure time wisely and well.

Today the demands made upon our schools far outrun their capacity to meet them. School enrollments are still increasing and will not meet their peak for some years to come. Right now the enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools of the nation are 24,468,000. That is a million more than last year; two million ahead of two years ago. By 1955 we can expect that there will be 30,000,000 pupils, with a continued increase forecast.

School Enrollments Leap

But these are national figures. Those for Asheville and Buncombe County are proportionately even more staggering. Births in this county in the six years, 1944 through 1949, exceeded the total school enrollment for all twelve grades in 1950. These postwar youngsters are just beginning to enter the schools. This means that each succeeding year will find hundreds of more children than the year before, knocking at the school house door.

How can we afford to provide all the money to meet these demands on our schools?

How can we afford *not* to provide all that is required?

Throughout our history there have been in each generation wise men with the vision to see that our survival as a nation depended in great degree upon the creation of an intelligent, educated, productive populace. There was George Washington, for example, who said: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

There was Horace Mann, probably the most noted crusader for the schools our country has yet produced. He abandoned a profitable legal practice and promising political career to accept a lowly post as secretary to the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Said he: "I have abandoned jurisprudence and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals. Men are cast iron, but children are wax. . . . I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. I have faith in the improvability of the race —in their accelerating improvability."

In North Carolina 50 years ago there was another such statesman, Walter Hines Page, a native of North Carolina, scholar, journalist, *Atlantic Monthly* editor, co-founder of the firm of Doubleday, Page and Company, and World War I ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The modern businessman's attitude toward education has never been better stated than by Page more than half a century ago. "I believe that by the right training of man we add to the wealth of the world," said Mr. Page. "All wealth is the creation of man and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and, the more men we train, the more wealth everyone may create."

They Learn About Elections

Campus turned into giant laboratory as Coe College students test faults and values of three different balloting methods.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

STUDENTS and faculty of Coe College at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, conducted, on March 13, an experiment in election methods which they will not soon forget. "Learning by doing" rather than by classroom lectures, they participated in the election of an imaginary five-member council by three separate methods—the single-member district or ward system, the Belgian party list system of proportional representation and the Hare or single transferable vote system of P. R. About 65 per cent of the electors participated, a considerably higher percentage than is usual at regular student body elections.

Political science students, particularly those in comparative government, organized the experiment under the direction of the author. Candidates, nominated by a student caucus, were in large measure presidential aspirants—the list is set forth in the result sheet below.

The *Coe Cosmos* and the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* carried news and descriptive items about the experiment over a period of several weeks. Posters offered the necessary immediate information and further instruction was printed on the ballots. On election day the *Cosmos* had a leading explanatory article and about a page devoted to the candidates. I repeatedly indicated that while we would obtain as a by-product a sort of straw vote as to campus sentiment toward presidential candidates and other political personalities, the main purpose of the experiment was to compare results under the three methods of voting.

Aside from my advice and supervision, the students planned and managed much of the job—counting votes, checking accuracy and tabulating results.

The campus was divided into five districts. These were used both as election districts for the casting of ballots and for the election of the imaginary council by single-member districts or wards. Polling lists were prepared from the student directory or "herd book." Each district had its own ballot box with polling officials. Four of the boxes were located in the student grill, the fifth was in the women's residence hall.

Mimeographed ballots were in varied shapes and sizes for the three different types of election and were stapled into sets of three for each voter. The variation in form helped to impress the voter with the fact that he should cast three different ballots, one for each voting method, and it also facilitated separating the ballots for the central count.

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The only compromise made was to combine the ballots of the various parties in the party list system election onto a single ballot sheet, but with the instruction that only one party ballot could be voted. This prevented giving the voter too many sheets of paper and additional and more complicated instructions. Also we used the simpler device employed in Belgium prior to the improvements through the *apparentement* as adopted in 1919. The students found the description in Thomas H. Reed's *Government and Politics of Belgium* adequate for the purpose.

Everything possible was done to simulate genuine elections. This paid off in that the students took it seriously while enjoying the variation from the usual routine. Not much actual campaigning was done for any candidate or party but students began talking politics.

Caucus Names Candidates

Because of the desirability of listing all candidates on a standard size blackboard for the central count, the number of candidates was arbitrarily limited to twelve. A student caucus determined the list of candidates for each ballot and district. The same list of twelve candidates served in all three elections.

Shortly after this caucusing, Coe College was host to the Town Meeting of the Air, and it happened that Norman Thomas, whom the students had selected as the only candidate outside the Democratic and Republican parties, was one of the speakers —only ten days before the election. The Eisenhower candidacy undoubtedly was influenced by the New Hampshire primaries, just held, and by a local struggle in Iowa Republican caucuses between Taft and Eisenhower supporters. Since this is a strongly Republican area, no great support was expected for the Democratic candidates.

For the single-member districts or wards, the caucus tried to place candidates in each district in such a way that a genuine contest would be possible. Three districts each had two candidates, a Democrat and a Republican. One district had a Democrat and two Republicans, and the fifth district, into which the students lumped the faculty with occupants of one student residence hall and out-of-town commuters, had the formidable list of Taft, Truman and Thomas.

For the Belgian party list ballots, the caucus attempted to establish a priority among the candidates which conceivably would be that which the inner organization of each major party might establish. Thus Taft headed the Republican list and Truman the Democratic. Under this system the party organization establishes the order in which their candidates appear on the ballot, thus determining the order of election of the candidates unless the voters assert their right to vote for individual candidates to give a different priority by their votes.

The Hare system ballot had the twelve candidates listed in alphabetical order, but with party designation following each name. Both the Belgian party list and the Hare system elections were conducted from the campus at large.

HARE SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION
COE COLLEGE DEMONSTRATION ELECTION, MARCH 13, 1952

NUMBER TO BE ELECTED 5 QUOTA FOR ELECTION 69		Count of First Choices	Transfer of Eisenhower Surplus	Result	Transfer of Taft and Write-in Ballots	Result	Transfer of Gillette and Smith Ballots	Result	Transfer of Hickenlooper Ballots	Result	Transfer of Roosevelt Ballots	Result	Transfer of Stevenson Ballots	Result	Transfer of Truman Ballots	Result	
Eisenhower	R	159	—90	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Gillette	D	1	-	1		1	—1	0									
Hickenlooper	R	2	3	5		5	1	6	—6	0							
Kefauver	D	38	16	54		54		54		54	1	55	7	62	7	(69)	Elected
Roosevelt	D	6	3	9		9		9		9	—9	0					
Smith	R		3	3		3	—3	0									
Stassen	R	22	18	40		40		40		40	2	42	2	44	3	47	
Stevenson	D	11	4	15	2	17		17	1	18		18	—18	0			
Taft	R	70		70	—1	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Thomas	S	50	3	53		53	1	54		54	2	56	4	60	2	62	Elected
Truman	D	14	2	16		16		16	1	17	2	19	1	20	—20		
Warren	R	37	31	68		68	1	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Write-in—Douglas		1		1	—1	0											
Ineffective			7	7		7	1	8	4	12	2	14	4	18	8	26	
TOTAL		411		411		411		411		411		411		411		411	

The polls were open from 8:30 A.M. to 5:30 P.M., when the boxes were delivered to the hall prepared for a central count, to which the public was invited. Tabulation forms had been prepared and large copies of them were drawn on blackboards. The statistics students had the calculating machines at hand.

The first tabulation form was that of a preliminary district count and report for each type of ballot. A second form consolidated the results for the single-member district election. The third, with columns for each district, consolidated the first-choice votes of the Hare system. The fourth was the result sheet for the Hare system with its columns for transfers of votes, as shown on the reproduction above. And, finally, a form was ready for consolidation of district results by party and candidate in the Belgian list system. In addition, a general information sheet, describing the purpose of P. R., the methods and reasons for calculating the quotas (Droop and d'Hondt) and the procedure for transfers, was available for spectators.

Ward System vs. P. R.

As for results, the single-member district or ward election demonstrated clearly its defects as a method of election for a representative body. Out of 394 ballots cast, the Democrats received 104 votes but failed to win a seat, whereas the Republicans, with a total of 258 votes, took four seats and might have won the fifth also, except that in the three-cornered fifth district, with Taft, Truman and Thomas, Thomas nosed out Taft with a plurality of but a single vote.

In the Belgian party list system count the result was more equitable. Although the Republicans again won four seats, the fifth went to a Democrat, Kefauver. It is interesting to note that not enough students voted, as most Belgians do, at the head of the party ballot, to make this demonstration as typical of the usual results as the others. Most students voted opposite a candidate's name. There were relatively few straight party votes to assign to individual "organization" candidates to bring them up to their quota of 65. Eisenhower, at the bottom of the list, got about twice as many votes as the quota and this showed how the Belgian system may be used to break an organization slate.

Of the 411 Hare ballots cast, 159 had first choices for Eisenhower, 70 for Taft, 50 for Thomas, 38 for Kefauver, 37 for Warren, etc. The quota being established at 69, a good opportunity was afforded to demonstrate the transfer of surplus ballots, and then those of defeated candidates to the next effective choice as indicated by the voter—see result sheet.[1] The 90 surplus votes of Eisenhower were transferred by taking them proportionately, without examination, from his ballots in each district—the district piles having been kept separate. The final result in this election was: Republicans, three

(Continued on page 274)

[1]For an explanation of the Hare system count see *Proportional Representation—Effective Voting,* 1951. National Municipal League, 8 pages, ten cents. Various list systems, including that used in Belgium, are discussed in *Proportional Representation,* by Hoag and Hallett, 1926. The League, 546 pages, $3.75.

News in Review

California Committees Study State Structure

Many Recommendations Are Given to Legislature

TWO interim committees of the California legislature — one in the Senate, the other in the Assembly — have been conducting studies of the state's governmental organization since their creation nearly three years ago. Five printed reports have been submitted — two to the Senate, three to the Assembly — and others are expected to be presented to the 1953 legislature, at least by the Assembly committee. The Senate committee is headed by Senator Hugh H. Donnelly; the Assembly committee by Assemblyman James W. Silliman.

The 1951 legislature adopted legislation based on one report—a special study of payroll procedure; the 1952 budget session considered a report on records management, legislation on which is to be submitted to the 1953 general session; and legislation on other topics will also be introduced in 1953.

The Senate committee's *Second Partial Report* (217 pages), issued early last year, represents a general survey of the state government, suggestions for a long-term reorganization program and a large number of specific recommendations for early consideration. It was the result of eighteen months of study by the committee and its staff, with aid from state agencies, the University of California, etc.

The report asserts that the departmental system established in 1929 has broken down and the number of independently functioning agencies has grown to unmanageable proportions. As a long-range objective there is proposed a governor's council composed of all department heads representing the following types of functions and interests: agriculture, commerce and its regulation, corrections, education, industrial relations, natural resources, public safety, public welfare, public works, and revenue and finance. Bureaus should be attached to the governor's office for budgeting, research and analysis, and service and supply. Non-council agencies would be kept to a minimum.

While many detailed recommendations are made in this report, the need of further study is stressed, particularly as to accounting and budgeting, law enforcement agencies, licensing, property management and water resources.

The Assembly committee issued its *First Partial Report* (365 pages) under date of March 1951; its special report on payroll methods (14 pages) was transmitted in the same month; and its *Second Partial Report,* on records management (24 pages) was transmitted to the Assembly on March 3, 1952.

The first report, comprising the results of an examination of the structure of the state government with the aid of a staff headed by H. F. Scoville, former director of administrative research for Los Angeles County, attempts to avoid duplication of the work of the Senate committee. It urged consideration of a plan providing the legislature with an adequate trained staff able to advise on questions of the organization and structure of state government. Specific recommendations, which total 116, include:

An integrated accounting system should be established, preferably in the department of finance if the elective office of state controller is abolished.

A larger board of control (financial) should be provided with broader powers than the existing board; it should consist of the director of finance and four members appointed by the governor with Senate concurrence and with overlapping terms; this board to formulate rules and regulations on fiscal matters as well as consider claims against the state.

The elective office of state treasurer should be abolished and the treasury placed in the department of finance.

The division of audits should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the legislature.

A separate department should be established for the administration of state revenues.

The state personnel board should not remain independent if the rest of the state government is reorganized to center executive authority in the governor.

A comprehensive study should be made, looking toward a department of medical services, to combine functions of the present departments of health and mental hygiene and the medical licensing and sanitary inspecting functions of the department of professional and vocational standards, and other medical functions.

A single recreation and parks commission should be created through the merging of the present recreation and state park commissions, the beaches and parks division of the department of natural resources and the recreation activities of the youth authority and the department of education.

The superintendent of public instruction, instead of being elected, should be selected by a board of education appointed by the governor with overlapping terms of ten years each (present term is four years).

Agencies and functions dealing with natural resources should be integrated into the department of natural resources, which should be reorganized into six major operating divisions with six advisory boards.

The need for much further study is stressed throughout the report.

South Carolina House Asks Biennial Sessions

The House of Representatives of South Carolina has adopted a resolution proposing an amendment to the state constitution to require biennial legislative sessions. If the resolution is approved by the Senate, the amendment will be submitted to the electorate. If the vote is favorable the amendment will go to the legislature for final ratification. The legislature now meets annually.

Mississippi Holds Classes for Legislators

Members of the Mississippi legislature, slightly over half of whom have had no previous service in the legislature, according to the Council of State Governments, attended a three-day "short course in legislative procedure" during the second week of the 1952 regular session. The course was sponsored and presented by the University of Mississippi in cooperation with the legislature and with the assistance of other state educational institutions. Instructors were chiefly experienced legislators and state officials. This was the first such course to be held in the state.

Included in the course were discussions of constitutional provisions affecting the legislature, parliamentary procedure, bill drafting, rules, com-

mittee procedure and services available to the legislature.

General Civil Service Revision Deferred in N. Y.

The New York Temporary State Commission on Revision of the Civil Service Law has postponed until 1953 the submission of recommendations to the legislature for wholesale changes in the present complex and confusing civil service law. An interim report states that studies have not been completed and that piecemeal, unrelated legislation is to be avoided.

The commission, created in 1950, has been cooperating for the past year with the Temporary Commission on Coordination of State Activities in a study of civil service practices. The latter group has recommended abolition of the present three-member Civil Service Commission in favor of a single administrator, aided by a part-time advisory board. This plan, which contemplated appointment of the administrator by the governor with Senate approval, has been criticized as inadequate protection against the patronage system, inasmuch as each governor could appoint a new administrator who might be politically dependent.

Merit System Gains Support in Louisiana

Support of a proposed constitutional amendment in Louisiana, to revive the merit system principle in the civil service, has been pledged by the Democratic and Republican nominees for governor and by 56 of the 100 members of the House and 27 of the 39 members of the Senate. Five additional house members pledged their support with qualifications. A state merit system law was repealed in 1948.

The proposed amendment would call for the merit system in all executive agencies of the state government and in all cities of 100,000 or more. Civil service systems, not protected by constitutional safeguards, are now in operation in the three cities within this class—New Orleans, Shreveport and Baton Rouge — and also within those state agencies receiving federal grants-in-aid. The amendment would prohibit political activity by civil service employees.

Constitutional amendments in Louisiana must receive at least 67 votes in the House and 26 in the Senate as well as the approval of a majority of those voting on the amendment at a general election designated by the legislature.

Court Reforms Proposed in Colorado

A proposed constitutional amendment, placed on the 1952 state ballot by the 1951 Colorado legislature, would effect several changes in the judiciary. It provides that no supreme or district judge could accept nomination for any non-judicial public office if its term would begin more than 30 days before the end of his term as judge, without resigning; forbids any supreme or district judge to hold office in a political organization; provides for retirement of a disabled judge on proceedings initiated by the attorney general in Supreme Court; requires the Supreme Court to be open, except on Sundays and holidays, during customary court hours; enables any county judge admitted to practice law to sit as a district judge; and permits retirement benefits and the increase or decrease of the compensation of a judge during his term of office.

Interstate Commission Studies Air Pollution

At a meeting sponsored by the New York Committee on Inter-state Co-

operation, agreement has been reached for an interstate approach to problems of air pollution and smoke control, according to the Council of State Governments. The Interstate Sanitation Commission, set up by compact among Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, has indicated willingness to study the practicability of amending the compact to permit its dealing with air pollution control. It expects to report its findings to the 1953 legislative sessions. A request for joint state action had been made to the governors of the three states by the mayor of New York City.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Bloomington, Illinois, (1950 population 34,163) voted 6,172 to 5,019, at the April 8 primary election, to adopt the state's optional council-manager law. At the same time the voters turned down a proposal to continue electing members of the city council by wards rather than at large as provided in the state's option.

Other recent additions to the ranks of council-manager municipalities include **Richfield, Utah,** (4,412); **Blacksburg, Virginia,** (3,358); **Zeeland, Michigan,** (3,075); **Zelienople, Pennsylvania,** (2,981); **South Royalton, Vermont,** (1,350); four **Maine** towns, **Hermon,** (1,728), **Hartland,** (1,310); **Corinth,** (1,167) and **Hudson** (455); and **Beaconsfield, Quebec.**

In **New Hampshire** the manager plan was retained by two towns where the question was voted on at the annual town meeting — in **Ashland** by better than two to one and in **Derry** by a small margin. Proposals for adoption of the manager plan were defeated in **Holderness,** 170 to 50, and in **Plymouth** by the slim margin of 21 votes.

The town of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** which voted in favor of the manager plan at its 1951 town meeting, voted at the 1952 town meeting, on March 31, to request the state legislature to enact pending legislation permitting Arlington voters to adopt or reject the manager plan. **Southbridge** voted 2,830 to 2,085 on March 14 against a town manager proposal.

Livingston township, New Jersey, has voted against a proposed manager plan.

Voters of **Princess Anne County, Virginia,** rejected a manager plan proposal on January 15, 1952.

In **Battle Creek, Michigan,** the city commission has voted to establish an executive staff for the mayor to relieve the load of administrative detail and to provide continuity in administration.

Evansville, Wisconsin, has defeated a council-manager proposal.

Springfield, Illinois, on April 8 defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 18,744 to 12,862. It thus retains the commission plan.

Bushnell, Illinois, will vote May 13 on adoption of the manager plan.

Petitions for a vote on the question of adopting the commission-manager plan have been circulated in **Ottawa, Kansas.**

Council-manager enabling legislation has been adopted by the **Mississippi** legislature. It was sponsored by the Mississippi Economic Council and allows any incorporated municipality of 300 or more to adopt the manager plan, to become effective after the existing elective officials complete their terms. A recall feature originally included was eliminated.

Voters of **San Marcos, Texas,** defeated a council-manager proposal, 1,011 to 747, on April 1.

The annual spring conference of the city managers' department of the League of California Cities was held in Riverside, February 20-22, with over 100 managers, administrative officers and their assistants from 79 cities, in attendance.

Proposed Charter for New Orleans Submitted

The Charter Committee for the city of New Orleans has submitted a proposed home rule charter to the commission council of the city. Under the special New Orleans constitutional home rule provision, adopted in 1950, the commission council may submit the charter to the voters with or without modifications.

If the charter is adopted the present commission government will be replaced by a mayor-council plan. The charter provides for a mayor and seven councilmen, five elected from districts and two from the city at large for four-year terms. The mayor would have the power to veto ordinances or items in appropriation bills subject to reversal by two-thirds of council. The mayor would appoint a chief administrative officer, on the basis of qualifications for his duties, the city attorney and a number of boards and commissions. The chief administrative officer would appoint and remove, with the approval of the mayor, the heads of most of the departments. The most significant feature of the charter is the strong provision of the chief administrative officer, at least with respect to the single-headed departments.

The New Orleans government differs from the standard commission form in the large number of more or less independent boards and commissions grafted upon it. Although the number of such boards would be reduced by the new charter, the continuance of several important ones in powerful positions makes it difficult to classify the charter as belonging definitely to the strong mayor category, although the mayor should be as strong as any mayor now in office with respect to those departments directly under him and his chief administrative officer.

Some of the continued boards are protected by state law, including especially the powerful sewerage and water board which has recently been declared a state rather than a city agency.

If the esthetic values of a city can be protected by a multiplicity of official watchdogs, the beauties of old New Orleans should be safe for many years to come under the new charter. In addition to the esthetic responsibilities of the city council, the planning commission and a new consolidated park commission, special responsibilities would be placed in a new commission for city beautification. There is also, for good measure, the Vieux Carre Commission whose mission is to preserve the character of that historic section of the city.

J.E.B.

Cincinnati Sets Basis for Collective Bargaining

The city council of Cincinnati has recently adopted a resolution setting forth the city's policy on collective bargaining with city employees and outlining the procedure to be followed in case negotiations are stalemated. If an agreement cannot be reached between the city's representative—the city manager — and the employees' representative, the latter may request a fact-finding board to examine and report on the questions which may be in dispute, for the purpose of guiding negotiations. This board will be made up of one member from the affected employees' group, one designated by

the city council, with the third member to be selected by the first two.

The council's resolution also sets forth the items upon which collective bargaining shall be based, such as cost-of-living data, improvement factors, national and local wage surveys, relationships among the salary rates of the various classes of city employment, comparative salary data and other such items that may be agreed upon by the two parties.

NIMLO Publishes National Model Ordinance Service

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has announced inauguration of the first national municipal model ordinance service ever to be published. It is in looseleaf form.

The service at its outset will contain the 33 model ordinances the institute has prepared thus far. These cover such subjects as city council organization and procedure, civil defense, transient merchants, peddlers, solicitors, canvassers, refrigerated locker plants, vending machines, juke boxes, admission taxes, circus structures, official daylight and war time, curfew of minors, handbills, sound trucks, sound advertising aircraft, unnecessary noises, smoke control, auto trailer and tourist camps, dogs, radio reception interference, operation of aircraft, parking meters, taxicabs, airport zoning, and demolition, vacation or repair of substandard buildings.

Each ordinance contains an introductory editorial note giving citations to the NIMLO research report upon which it is based or recent court decisions rendered on the specific subject matter. Some of the model ordinances have been directly upheld by the courts.

The models are based upon what the institute's more than 600 member cities, counties, towns and special municipal corporations have done, are doing or are planning to do; and upon seventeen years of model ordinance drafting through NIMLO by municipal attorneys and others expert in municipal law.

New ordinances will be continually added until the service contains a model municipal code covering major municipal regulations.

Further information about the service may be obtained from the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 730 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Las Vegas Employees Form Speaking Bureau

In order to acquaint the people of Las Vegas, Nevada, with the operation of their city government, the latter is providing a panel of ten city employees who will be available as speakers for service clubs and other organizations. City Manager C. W. Shelley has prepared a booklet setting forth the names of prospective speakers, their experience and background, and the subjects about which they are prepared to speak.

Five Cities Seek to Annex Territory

Plans are under way in at least five major cities to take in more territory.

Kansas City, Missouri, has taken steps to annex 25 square miles, increasing its total area to 107.2 square miles and making it one of the ten largest cities in the nation by area. This territory is adjacent to the city on the east, consisting of the unincorporated area between Kansas City and Independence, and contains a population of more than 27,000.

Milwaukee is bringing the entire town of Lake into the city and is also

considering a proposal to establish a $500,000 rotating fund to buy undeveloped land outside the city for improvement and subsequent annexation.

A recent court decision in Kentucky has approved the annexation by Louisville of an area which, subsequent to Louisville's initial action, had incorporated as a town. Louisville also contemplates the annexation of nearly seven square miles of industrial area in order to bring numerous industrial plants under control of the city air pollution control commission.

Norfolk, Virginia, has plans under way to annex nearly sixteen square miles of territory, and in Indianapolis, Indiana, the city plan commission has approved a report urging the city council to undertake the annexation of nearly 25 square miles during the next ten years.

Saginaw Supervisors Study to Improve Methods

Eighty supervisory employees of Saginaw, Michigan, have completed a course of classes and conferences on efficiency in government, extending over a period of three months.

Saginaw, which has a population of about 100,000 and employs about 600 persons, is the first Michigan city to participate in this educational experiment, developed by Michigan State College's Continuing Education Service. It is expected that other Michigan cities may engage in similar programs.

As a result of the course, City Manager C. A. Miller stated that the city was working out an orientation program for new city employees, to cut the cost of labor turnover, and was considering several other changes in procedure.

Changes in the Saginaw police department already are in effect. New members of the department are now required to go through 40 hours of training at headquarters before they are assigned to beats.

Professor Paul Moore, head of the Michigan State College Department of Business and Industry, conducted the classes. They included discussions of such subjects as techniques of solving problems, operating as a team and getting employees off to a good start. The participants were placed in six groups, each on a separate level in the government. Each group met once a week.

Professor Moore expressed the belief that the city should now be in a better position to compete in a tight labor market and that the productivity of its employees should increase, although Saginaw has been a well run city.

Schools for West Coast Councilmen

The League of California Cities will hold a two-day institute for councilmen late in May or early in June, primarily for councilmen elected in April. It will be, in effect, an intensive short course on law, procedure, functions and responsibilities. A similar institute, but limited to one day in the northern and one day in the southern part of the state, was held in 1950 and was attended by more than 200 newly elected councilmen.

The Port Angeles (Washington) school district conducted a class in municipal government prior to the February 11 primary election for councilmen. Out of 58 persons filing for the seven council positions 33 were enrolled in the class; and eleven of the fourteen candidates nominated in the primary had been attendants.

Governmental Units Decrease in Number

The Bureau of the Census has announced that its survey of governmental units in the United States in 1951 shows the total to be 119,465 as compared with 155,116 in 1942, when the last prior survey was made. The comparison by types of governmental units is:

	1951	*1942*
U. S. Government	1	1
States	48	48
Counties[a]	3,049	3,050
Municipalities	16,677	16,220
Townships	17,338	18,919
School Districts	70,452	108,579
Special Districts	11,900	8,299
Totals	119,465	155,116

[a]Twenty-one other counties, so-called, are either included in cities or towns or are unorganized.

Minnesota showed the largest number of units—9,309, of which 6,479 are school districts. Illinois had 12,138 school districts in 1942, but reduced the number to 4,580 in 1951; its total number of governmental units is 8,594, second only to Minnesota. It has the largest number of special districts—1,341.

Almost half of all special districts are accounted for by three types—soil conservation, drainage and fire protection districts. Another fourth consists of highway, housing, irrigation, water and sewer districts. "Authorities" for construction and operation of toll roads or other revenue producing facilities are included if they meet certain specifications.

To be classed as a governmental unit the unit in question must possess three attributes: existence as an organized entity; governmental character, with officers popularly elected or appointed by public officials and having a high degree of responsibility to the public; and substantial autonomy.

Some of the reduction in number of units is due to rigorous reclassification, particularly as to townships and school districts. Several states have made drastic reductions in the number of school districts by consolidation.

Civil Defense Training Program Initiated

A training program in civil defense emergency highway traffic operations, developed by the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University, formed the basis of a recent two-weeks seminar for civil defense officials from all parts of the country.

Conducted at the Traffic Institute in Evanston, Illinois, under contract agreement with the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the seminar was attended by 28 top police, traffic engineering and transportation officials representing most of the key potential target areas of the country.

The training program, developed earlier for the Federal Civil Defense Administration by the Traffic Institute, with the assistance of a select committee of technical experts, will be used in the training of regional civil defense personnel throughout the country. The "trial run" seminar was conducted to subject the program to people of extensive civil defense experience.

Press Supports County Streamlining

Praises the Reorganization Program of Maricopa Group

REORGANIZATION of the government of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona,[1] has gained the enthusiastic editorial backing of *The Arizona Republic,* Phoenix newspaper. It comments:

"The grass-roots movement to reorganize the government of Maricopa County is in part a citizens' protest against shortcomings evident in the past few years but also a local recognition that American county government has not grown up with the times. If Maricopa County adopts the proposed reforms, it will be among the first 20 or 30 in the nation to attach prime importance to this unit of government . . .

"The Better Government Association of Maricopa County apparently represents a wide cross-section of citizens united in a demand for modernization. The governmental faults listed by the organization are not new, but popular reaction is slow to crystallize. When it does form, it is hard to stop. Recent city reform in Phoenix is an encouraging example.

"The same type of reform is proposed for the county. Election of supervisors at large would stop the wasteful practice of each district representative putting his own section first at the expense of county-wide development in an orderly, economical fashion. Nonpartisan supervisors would be free of political control yet fully responsible to the voters. The county manager plan would permit an appointed, trained executive to coordinate all administrative functions. The savings possible from this plan have already been demonstrated in the city. Properly regulated civil service would protect employees from insecurity and the taxpayers from incompetence.

"This is an ambitious program, probably involving legislative changes. It is high time it was launched, however, and it deserves the support of all whose future is wrapped up in this county."

A columnist of the same newspaper also reflected the enthusiasm of the movement recently when he observed: "Political partisanship was dealt another kick in the shins in our amazing Arizona when public announcement was made Sunday of plans to organize the Better Government Association of Maricopa County. It will be a nonpartisan organization, dedicated to the announced plan of launching a cleanup and reform movement in the goverment of Maricopa County.

"A group of business leaders throughout the county have been laying the groundwork for such an organization for many weeks. . . . They were not hesitant in launching their battleship without any partisan trappings—in fact they will shove partisan politics into the background."

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 206.

Oregon Counties Again to Vote on Manager Plan

Clackamas and Lane Counties, Oregon, will submit to referendum vote in the primary elections May 16 the question of adopting the county manager form of government. The question has been placed on the ballot in

both counties by petition in conformity with the Oregon county optional law of 1945.

Similar attempts have been made in each county in recent years, but sufficient votes were not secured. Proponents of the plan believe they have a better chance of success now because there is more widespread dissatisfaction with the existing county governments, although local party organizations and county officeholders continue to oppose adoption of the plan.

Princess Anne Voters Defeat County Executive Proposal

Voters of Princess Anne County, Virginia, on January 15 defeated a proposal to adopt the county executive plan 4,062 to 2,515. The executive plan is one of several options available to Virginia counties under state law. It differs from the county manager plan, also a state option, in that the executive does not have power to appoint administrative officials, but makes recommendations to the board of supervisors.

New Turn in City-county Relations

City-county relations took a new turn recently when Dallas County and the city of Dallas, Texas, jointly agreed to employ a doctor to operate an intoximeter in testing persons arrested for drunken driving. The two units also provided funds recently for a tuberculosis survey to include an x-ray of all 400,000 Dallas County residents.

Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, has acquired a financial interest in "dog days." It has entered into an agreement with the city of Charlotte for financing a new city-county animal shelter. The city will operate the shelter, but it will keep separate accounts of the dogs picked up and brought in from the county. Each day or part of a day, known as "dog day," will be the basis of charges against the county for the care of its dogs. Receipts from the sale of county dogs will be credited to the county's account.

Philadelphia Consolidation Raises Many Questions

Two recent legal interpretations regarding the effects of adoption of the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment have resulted in clouding somewhat the status of former county offices. A court decision has ruled that incumbents in county offices have acquired protection under the new city charter against arbitrary dismissal. On the other hand, the city solicitor has ruled that county officers do not have to abide by city charter requirements that they resign before running for elective office. The former decision, however, is regarded as a favorable omen that county officers are moving in the direction of the merit system.

County Consolidation Urged by Oregon Senator

This Week Magazine, a supplement published with Sunday editions of newspapers throughout the United States, recently quoted the National Municipal League to the effect, "Generally speaking, a merger of city and county activities under a single set of municipal authorities has proved advantageous to the taxpayers." The article, "One Sure Way to Cut Taxes," by Richard Neuberger, Oregon state senator, emphasizes that drastic reduction in the number of counties could effect substantial savings to taxpayers without loss of essential services, and that this surplus of bureaucracy was most flagrant in the cities "where county

government is piled on top of municipal government like an extra layer in a sandwich."

After citing numerous examples of extravagance, the author observes, "An effective step toward better government is the appointment of a county manager—one man, responsible to a small, elected, policy-making council. Centralized operations and economies are made possible. Gradually, this plan is gaining in national favor."

Nebraskans Urged to Rethink County Problems

A recent *Bulletin* of the Nebraska Governmental Research Institute gives major attention to the problem of county government in that state. It concedes the impracticability of county consolidation, but points out that functional consolidation is developing on an extended scale, especially between counties and large cities within their boundaries.

Six-year Program Prepared for Virginia County

The Arlington County, Virginia, Planning Commission, in cooperation with its Citizens' Advisory Committee, has prepared a six-year improvement program which has been submitted to the county board.[1] The advisory committee of 35 members first reviewed preliminary estimates prepared by the heads of county departments at the request of the county manager. The committee considered population, housing, business, industry, intergovernmental relations, civil defense and each of the major county services. Group discussions evolved numerical rating scales and other criteria which determined priority of facilities. Bond issues of $1,383,000 and $1,318,000 have been authorized and issued for storm sewer and highway programs, respectively, and work has started on them. An $880,000 bond issue for acquisition of recreation land has been authorized.

It was concluded that the county's economy should be strengthened by intensive development of retail stores. An urban land economist was employed to make a survey of land uses and possible future commercial development of the county,[2] but final county board action on the report has not yet been taken.

Records on Microfilm Save County Time and Space

Microfilming records has proved a successful means of saving time and space in Wayne County, Michigan. Adoption of the system has resulted in a 99 per cent reduction in storage space and 86 per cent in time spent searching for documents. In addition, many old, brittle original documents of historical value are being protected since, for research purposes, films take their place. Microfilming has resulted also in the discovery of county records that previously had been missing.

[1] *Arlington Looks Ahead*—A Six-year Improvement Program for Arlington County, Virginia. 1952-1957. 92 pages.

[2] See *Economic Survey of The Land Uses of Arlington County, Virginia,* by Homer Hoyt Associates. The Planning Division, Court House, Arlington 1, Virginia. 59 pages, $5.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win

Massachusetts Legislature Defeats One, Passes Another

MIXED results in its dealings with P. R. repeal legislation have appeared in the current proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature. Legislation to repeal proportional representation in one or more Massachusetts "Plan E" cities has been defeated. Senate Bill No. 516, however, drawn up as a modified combination of a number of anti-P. R. bills affecting particular cities has been passed by both houses.

Although this bill has been described in newspapers as merely reducing the number of signatures necessary for a repeal referendum from 10 per cent to 5 per cent of the registered voters, it actually goes much farther and completely prevents the readoption of P. R. as well as facilitating repeal. The bill is in the form of a repeal of the P. R. sections of the plan "E" council-manager optional charter legislation, which would become permanently effective with respect to any particular "Plan E" city upon acceptance by referendum in that city.

Commenting editorially on the action of the Massachusetts legislature in defeating one anti-P. R. proposal, the Worcester *Telegram* of March 21 had this to say:

"The Massachusetts House of Representatives acted wisely Wednesday when it defeated another bill against proportional representation, but the vote was disturbingly close. The opponents of P. R. are still trying.

"One of the arguments again made in the House was that P. R. violates the American two-party system. There is no secret about the main purposes behind the Plan E charter. One of them is to get away from the old-time party handling of city affairs. . . .

"But P. R. is also a safeguard against excessive domination by one party. It permits party representation on the city council and on the school committee in proportion to the size of parties. It is a virtual guarantee that one party cannot win all the seats, cannot have complete control. It thus stands against a one-party system; and a one-party system would eventually wreck the two-party system, which the foes of P. R. profess to uphold."

U. S. Ambassador Opposes P. R. in Greece

The statement of U. S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy in early March, objecting to a proposal by Sophocles Venizelos, deputy premier of Greece, to remove the limitations to proportionality in his country's electoral system, widely quoted in the U. S. press, was made against a background of alternating election methods in Greece. The country's P. R. list system, as used in 1951, contained certain limitations favoring the larger parties.

Premier Nicholas Plastiras has been interested in a return to plurality voting and is strongly supported by Ambassador Peurifoy. The latter's stand against a fully proportional system was strongly criticized by Deputy Premier Venizelos as taking part in internal Greek political matters. The State Department backed the ambassador by a statement on March 15, taking the position that minority

representation endangers stability of government, and pointing out that the stability of the Greek government is an important factor in determining how efficiently American aid to Greece can be spent.

The statements of the ambassador and of the State Department left the inference that if Greece should proportionalize the representation in parliament to popular votes without limitation, U. S. authorities would reconsider their present policy as to the level of American financial aid to the Greek economy. The statements made clear that the form of electoral system was left to the Greek government and people to choose, however.

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, appearing March 16, referred to the State Department action as "unprecedented," and expressed the opinion that the situation has a parallel in France, where "the turnover in French governments has in fact been a source of great concern to American officials." If the French situation is actually regarded in Washington as parallel, however, it would hardly support the recent statements, for France abandoned proportional representation before its last national elections without producing any noticeable increase in the tenure of office of French cabinets.

Probably it is the multi-party pattern of European politics that distresses American authorities concerned with the bolstering of European defense and economy, and the questionable theory that this multi-party pattern can be consolidated into a two-party system by avoiding proportional representation accounts for opposition to P. R. The State Department's position overlooks not only the existence of multi-party systems and coalition government in Europe under non-proportional electoral systems but also the existence of one-party stable governments under proportionally representative legislatures in the Scandinavian countries and Ireland.

Greece has alternated between proportional party list systems and other systems of representation, without securing general satisfaction with any. In 1920, under a block vote system (plurality representation by large districts returning many members) the parties of the governing coalition obtained all the representation, whereas the Venizelos party, with about 45 per cent of the popular vote, obtained no representation at all.

Greece's latest adoption of P. R., like France's first, came after the recent war. Its postwar P. R. system was modified before the last elections to deny a share in the national distribution of extra seats to parties obtaining less than 17 per cent of the popular vote.

Review and Rebuttal

The January issue of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science contains (pages 240-242) a review by Mr. Hallett of this department of Notre Dame Professor Ferdinand A. Hermens' recent book, *Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy*. The volume was discussed in the April issue of this REVIEW (page 224) by Professor Wallace S. Sayre of New York City College.

Professor Hermens' book is devoted almost entirely to an argument against proportional representation, based on his interpretation of European and other experience with different election methods. Mr. Hallett's review summarizes the Hermens case and offers rebuttal, based largely on the same evidence.

The issue is joined in the first paragraphs as follows:

"In the recent British elections the

Labor party polled more votes and a higher percentage of the votes than it had the time before. It also polled more votes than any other party. Yet it lost the absolute majority in the House of Commons it had won on a minority vote at the previous election, and its Conservative rivals were given an absolute majority instead.

"Thus are the fortunes of nations fashioned by the vagaries of an election system which makes results dependent not merely on numbers of votes but on where the votes are cast and on the number of candidates among whom the votes are divided. The Labor party was given control before a majority of the British people were ready for its far-reaching program of socialization. But when that program gained new recruits and the general conduct of the Labor party in office brought increased popularity, the party was thrown out of power and its slightly less popular rivals were given power to undo as much of its work as they pleased.

"Such distortions of popular wishes seem of minor consequence to Professor Hermens, arch-crusader against proportional or accurate representation. He would prefer to see the largest party come out on top and even suggests (page 19) that the British Labor party would have been justified in some deliberate gerrymandering to compensate for the wastage of its votes in the districts where it has top-heavy majorities.

"But the most important thing in his mind is not who governs but that someone shall be in position to govern. He is obsessed with the idea that some party or group must be able to enact its whole program expeditiously, whether the people like the whole program or not."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 233)

overlapping and duplicating governments to be found within most counties and all metropolitan areas provides wonderful cover for what Charles Edison once described as "political tricksters running around under the grass."

Years ago Woodrow Wilson exclaimed that the job was to "simplify, simplify, simplify!" That, consequently, is the keynote of League models for improved governmental, administrative and electoral systems. It also explains why, ever since the League's first National Conference in 1894, it has advocated separation of municipal from national and state politics. An important reason for the Cincinnati achievement lauded by Charles Taft is the fact that he, an active Republican in state and national affairs, could be elected to the city council as a candidate of the local charter party. Conscientious citizens are often stymied by the intellectual compromises required to work through one party at all levels of government.

There is untold citizen power still to be unleashed in this country. Clarify the battleground and release citizens from artificial political and legal restraints and they will do the rest. Witness the way in which the people of Rhode Island cities and towns are rushing to take advantage of their newly won home rule and Illinois cities are flocking to the council-manager plan made available to them only last year.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

U. S. Ends Restraints on State-local Bonds

Voluntary Program Lapses after Eleven Months Trial

EMERGENCY credit controls on borrowing by state and local governments came to an end late in March, approximately eleven months after the voluntary credit restraint program for state-local bond issues had been defined by the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee. That committee was organized under the aegis of the Federal Reserve System pursuant to the 1950 defense production act.[1] Controls continue, however, on other types of financing, private and corporate.

The program to curb state-local borrowing, so as to minimize or eliminate inflationary pressures on the economy from this source, had run head-on into a state-federal conflict right at the start when one of the regional voluntary committees set up to screen bond offerings had turned down $67,500,000 soldiers' bonus bonds of West Virginia.[1] Governor Okey L. Patteson of that state objected that the bonds were being issued pursuant to the "overwhelming vote" of the West Virginia electorate and asserted that "no state official would have the right to set aside the sale of these bonds." Later, those finding fault with the administration of the program pointed out the extra-legal status of the committees through which the "screening" of issues was carried out, and the "voluntary" nature of the proceedings, as weaknesses infringing on duly constituted federal-state-local relationships.

The cogency of these arguments evidently appealed, eventually, to the president, for on March 24 Mr. Truman wrote Charles E. Wilson, then director of defense mobilization, directing that all emergency credit controls on bond issues of state and local governments be ended. Noting the composition of the regional committees, and their requests to banking and investment houses not to bid on disapproved bonds, the president said: "While some bond issues which would clearly have been inflationary have been prevented in this fashion, it has necessarily resulted in disapproving actions which have been decided on through democratic processes by state and local governments. I believe the application of such an arrangement to the affairs of state and local governments should be continued no longer than is absolutely necessary."

Both the president and the Federal Reserve Board, which formally announced the end of the program on March 31, warned that the responsibility of self-restraint was now squarely placed on state and local officials. Said Mr. Truman: "They should take into account, in every case, the possible effect of any proposed financing on the strength of the bond market, on the heavy inflationary pressures which continue to face us, and the continued need to restrict credit expansion to what is absolutely necessary under emergency conditions."

Said the Reserve Board spokesman: "The failure by public bodies to exercise the desired restraint would seriously affect the morale essential to the success of the program in private financing channels."

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 319.

Just how effective the program respecting state-local borrowing had been seems conjectural. Oliver S. Powell, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board and chairman of the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee, was quoted in the press as stating that under the program 67 state and local issues totaling $300,795,000 had been "voluntarily" postponed. On the basis of reports while the program was in effect, however, four large issues accounted for $279,500,000 of this total, leaving 63 issues totaling $21,795,000 as the remainder of the program's results. The four large issues included three state soldiers' bonus issues—West Virginia, $67,500,000; Oregon, $75,000,000; and Montana, $22,000,000—and the $115,000,000 of utility acquisition revenue bonds proposed by a group of utility districts in Washington.[2]

The good works of the voluntary committees, however, are probably not to be measured solely by the issues submitted to them for screening and turned down. In later months, especially, state and local borrowers have evidently refrained from submitting for screening those issues which seemed likely, on the basis of earlier rulings, to be rejected. At the same time, it must be admitted that some issues turned down on initial submission were later given the go-ahead signal. A fair appraisal certainly would note that the program has accomplished successfully some of the things it set out to do—in so far as a program leveled at the financing stage could be effective—and that its failures basically stemmed from the lack of federal understanding of how local government works. The timing of the program's termination strongly suggests that if it was needed at all it was needed in a more efficient form — probably accompanied by a system of priorities for allocating materials and labor.

[2]See the REVIEW, February 1952, page 109.

Maryland Starts Map Survey to Pilot 1954 Reassessment

Two pilot projects preparatory to the complete remapping of the state of Maryland have been authorized by the advisory board of the Bureau of Control Surveys and Maps of the State Planning Commission. One covers a hundred square miles of rural territory and the other fifteen square miles in Baltimore County. Aerial photographs at a scale of 200 feet to the inch for urban areas and 600 feet to the inch for rural areas will be used.

The survey is being conducted to aid the State Tax Commission in carrying out the 1951 directive of the state legislature that there go into effect January 1, 1954, a system of rotation of assessment review such that one-third of the taxable property in each county will be reassessed every three years. The assessments are to be based on a modern system of property records and appraisal aids, including property descriptions, record cards, location, land classification and unit value maps, and records of construction, sales, building costs and private appraisals.

The bureau expects to iron out operational difficulties in the test mapping projects, and then proceed with large-scale mapping activity so that assessors can have aerial mosaic maps for one-third of the state's area prior to the making of the assessment for the year beginning January 1, 1954. Completion of the second third of each county is expected before assessors take to the field in 1955, and

completion of the entire state thereafter. Each map will measure 21½ by 30 inches and show roads, property lines, owners' names, property dimensions and area, deed references, etc. They are expected to be of value also for state and local planning and engineering surveys in which land use data are needed.

Truckers Pay Tax Upheld by Courts

New York State's new weight-distance tax on large trucks brought $2,635,000 into the state's coffers by March 31, the date set for retroactive payments following upholding of the tax law by the State Appellate Division and Court of Appeals.

Under court ruling, 27,000 carriers operating 192,000 vehicles have been required since October 1, 1951, to keep records of their mileage in the state, pending determination of the litigation. About one-third of the carriers paid their tax during the period, although not legally required to do so. Returns filed with a postmark not later than March 31, 1952, would avoid the 5 per cent penalty for late filing, and State Tax Commission officials expected that payments received after March 31 would greatly swell the total received for the October 1-March 31 period.

The tax applies to trucks with maximum gross weights over 18,000 pounds, at rates ranging from .6 cent to 2.4 cents per mile, graduated according to the weight group of the vehicle.

Assessors Decry Prewar Base for Property Values

There is no longer justification for using the pre-war price level as a measure for present day assessed values, reports the general appraisal committee of the National Association of Assessing Officers. In its statement the committee points out that where such a level is employed it is almost impossible to achieve equality between different types of property and between properties constructed prior to World War II and those constructed since.

One of the most difficult problems faced by local assessors in recent years has been that of determining the weight that should be accorded present day sales prices, costs and rental income in determining real estate assessed values.

"It is not true that it is immaterial what year is used as a so-called base year in establishing assessed values, so long as there is uniformity in application," the committee concluded. "While there is a measurable relationship between the over-all price level of 1941 and the over-all average price level of 1952, there are so many important variations within the average that present day evidence of value cannot be adjusted to a pre-war base by the application of a percentage factor. Attempts to do so are certain to result in substantial inequalities between recent construction and pre-war construction."

The general appraisal committee is made up of the chairmen of nearly 50 special groups studying various appraisal problems.

MFOA to Meet in June

The 1952 conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada is scheduled for June 15 to 19, at the Hotel Statler, Boston.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Columbia Voters Kill Manager Repealer

Conduct Spirited Campaign to Hold Gains Made by City

THE voters of Columbia, South Carolina, on March 25, demonstrated their faith in the benefits of the council-manager system by an overwhelming majority. In spite of a well organized opposition with substantial financial backing, the citizens voted three to one against its abandonment. Only a week prior to the vote, Dr. George Gallup had formally presented the city with its award as one of the eleven "All-American Cities of 1951."

The statute permitting council-manager government in Columbia was passed by the General Assembly in 1949 and applies only to those cities with populations from 50,000 to 70,000. In September of that year the voters of Columbia decided in favor of adopting the manager form.

According to the provisions of the 1949 act, councilmen receive an annual salary of $1,000 and the mayor $2,000. Under the previous form of government these officials received $4,000 and $5,000, respectively. The theory behind the reduction is, of course, that burdensome, time-consuming administrative chores can be turned over to the full-time manager, and the salaries of the councilmen and mayor can then be reduced since their function becomes almost purely a legislative one.

Apparently some of the citizens and some of the aspirants for municipal office did not approve of either the theory or the fact of council-manager government in Columbia. Petitions for its discontinuance were circulated and presented to the mayor, and the referendum was held in conjunction with the primary election for two positions on the city council.

The issue was joined in the council elections, since two of the four candidates campaigned strongly for retention of the manager form while the other two were either opposed to or unenthusiastic about it. Other issues in the campaign for city council were relegated to a minor role in the light of the more heated argument over the abandonment of the newly established government.

Opponents of the manager system dragged out the stock arguments against it—"dictatorship," "undemocratic," "government by outsiders," "outrageous salary for the manager," "unresponsive to public demands." The proponents of the plan, armed with facts, logic and enthusiasm, set about to counter very ably each of these arguments. The two most active groups in support of the manager plan were the League of Women Voters, extremely energetic and well organized in Columbia, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Radio time was purchased, "telephone hours" were set up to inform voters of various facts and urge voter participation, discussion panels were arranged to present clear-cut statements concerning the improved status of the city and the citizens under the manager plan, and a town meeting, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, gave the citizens a public opportunity to air their views and ask questions of representatives on both sides of the issue.

It was pointed out that the citizens of Columbia, if dissatisfied with the manager, may have the council re-

move him with only 30 days notice. Coupled with this control is the fact that the manager is the administrative chief only and must defer to the wishes of the council on matters of policy. These arguments were strongly effective in dispelling the charges of "dictatorship" and "undemocratic."

With respect to the city manager's salary, $15,000, the League of Women Voters emphasized the point that citizens of Columbia are, in effect, stockholders in a $3,500,000 corporation, and that certainly the general manager of such a corporation must be a man of "fifteen-thousand-dollar ability" if he is to discharge so responsible a function properly. Other open objections were countered equally thoroughly.

But the real objection to the manager plan, in many instances, was to the "equal application of the law." Obviously no candidate would voice such an objection openly, but some citizens objected purely on the basis that they no longer could get tickets fixed or get special favors from the city hall which they had managed to obtain under the previous system. The proponents of the manager plan brought this point out strongly and urged that a proper government must afford equal treatment to all citizens rather than special dispensations for the few.

It was pointed out, with reference to the gains made under the manager plan, that the city had converted a $314,000 deficit into a $285,000 surplus after only one year of operation under the manager! And the surplus would have been larger if higher wage scales for employees had not been established. To the business men of the community this was one of the most forceful arguments in favor of retaining council-manager government.

The campaign was conducted energetically right down to the opening of the polls on election day. General opinion was that the vote to abandon would fail, but even the most optimistic manager advocates were cautious in their predictions. Only one of the city's eighteen wards failed to endorse the plan and that ward failed only by the narrow margin of two votes. The city vote was 5,535 in favor of the plan and 1,647 opposed. The election for council positions followed a similar pattern with the two manager proponents winning the primary without even the necessity of a runoff election.

It is an open question at this time as to whether the opponents of the manager plan are content to accept the verdict of the voters and try to adapt their proposals for municipal progress to this organizational pattern or whether they will reorganize for a subsequent attack on the issue. It can be said with certainty, however, that a majority of the voters of Columbia have been impressed with the performance of the municipal government under the council-manager plan of organization and are content to continue under that form.

GLENN ABERNATHY
University of South Carolina

Grand Rapids Citizens Action Elects Anti-machine Ticket

"Same Old Gang . . . Same Old Tricks!" This is the headline of an advertisement published in the Grand Rapids *Press* by Citizens Action, a local civic group, in its successful effort to elect its candidates for mayor and council at the Grand Rapids city primary of February 18. Not only was the organization successful in nominating its candidates but also its efforts brought out such a large vote for its candidates that an April runoff election proved unnecessary and the city has been saved approximately

$8,000. CA distributed thousands of circulars by block workers and some 40,000 copies of a tabloid news sheet were mailed to all homes in the city.

"What brought out this big vote—this high percentage victory?" asks the *CA News* in its report on the election. The question, put to workers at a post-election gathering, was answered thus:

"1. Hard work—by blockworkers, telephoners, drivers, baby-sitters, clerical volunteers—nearly 1,000 of them.

"2. The people's desire to keep the kind of government now in city hall.

"3. Emphasis on the danger of defeat in a light vote.

"4. Confidence in the capacity and sincerity of the Citizens Action-supported mayor and commissioners.

"5. Telling the facts—and pointing out false propaganda.

"6. Dr. Stob's radio speech, reaffirming the basic moral principle of the whole citizen movement.

"7. Growing confidence in Citizens Action as a truly representative group of citizens with no ax to grind, seeking no reward.

"8. Increasing consciousness on the part of all citizens that good government is everybody's business."

Gold Feathers Bring Out Seattle Voters

Sponsored by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Seattle's "Gold Feather Citizen Campaign" to get out the vote at the March 11 election met with unqualified success. Patterned after the Richmond, Virginia, project of 1948,[1] the campaign covered all of King County with a population of about 725,000. "Gold Feather Citizen Week" was proclaimed in a resolution passed by the King County commissioners.

According to a report of the Municipal League, support was secured from daily and weekly newspapers, which covered the project in editorials, stories, cartoons and photographs. Eight local radio stations were provided with twenty-second and one-minute spot announcements which they used many times, one station making 50 announcements in the week prior to election. Radio commentators and sponsored programs plugged the gold feather theme. The city's television station gave the campaign its support through spot announcements and special programs.

The city's transit system donated space on the outside of three hundred buses for two weeks for displays. Members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce stenciled large gold feathers and "Vote March 11" on sidewalks in the central business section and outlying shopping districts. Churches were asked to make announcements and organizations were sent letters urging them to announce the program and develop their own gold feather campaigns.

Schools aided in many ways. In Seattle all school children wrote "Gold Feather Citizen" letters to their parents, pupils made posters. PTA groups throughout the county picked up the idea and used it to help get out a big vote for school bond issues.

Many business firms promoted the idea among their employees. Some plugged the project in advertisements.

Results were excellent. In the city alone, out of 253,000 registered voters nearly 160,000 or 63 per cent went to the polls. This compares with a vote of 135,648 in 1948, the previous mayoralty election, or 52 per cent of the registered vote of 261,000.

The county auditor and his election superintendent cooperated in the

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

project by including packets of feathers in the election kits for each precinct. Election officials passed out the feathers to each voter as he cast his ballot. Members of the League of Women Voters distributed gold feathers to hospital patients casting absentee ballots.

Cost of the campaign, reports the Municipal League, was $750. Some 250,000 feathers were provided and packaged for each voting precinct in four hours by an eighteen-woman crew from the League of Women Voters.

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County is receiving requests for information from other places which are interested, and reports that Ketchikan, Alaska, may be putting on a similar campaign soon.

'Get Out the Vote' Western Style

"In Texas, where payment of an annual poll tax is a prerequisite to voting," reports *The National Voter* of the League of Women Voters of the U. S., "and wide open spaces breed extroverts, a lot of press agentry went into an LWV pay-your-poll-tax campaign with very happy results. Poll tax payments exceeded the total for 1948 by many thousands."

Western attire was the fashion in poll tax booths throughout the state. Cowgirls in Houston lassoed bystanders to inquire whether they had paid their tax; Fort Worth, in a downtown square, had a calf in a corral, branding irons and posters, "Let us brand you with a poll tax." Some 28 leagues had their members working throughout January, some of them as full-time but unpaid deputy tax collectors. New voters were guests at round-up parties with food and music "straight out of the Old West." Poll tax payers were "branded" with labels.

Not to be outdone by its lusty neighbor to the south, reports *The National Voter,* Wichita, Kansas, sponsored a mid-western style registration party. Results were the registration of 1,400 citizens in one evening with an overflow of several thousands turned away to return another day. Square dancing was provided for all who registered and donated refreshments were served to those who produced registration cards. The local bus company provided free shuttle service to the courthouse and members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce proved excellent barkers. A half-hour panel discussion on voting was broadcast, with an LWV member, a city official, political science professor and the commanding officer of a nearby air base as participants. Open house was held in all courthouse offices. Other efforts are continuing until the slogan, "Register Wichita 100 Per Cent," is an accomplished fact.

Heritage Foundation Conducts National Vote Campaign

A nation-wide, nonpartisan "Register and Vote" campaign has been launched by the American Heritage Foundation in cooperation with The Advertising Council and some 200 national organizations, with the active participation of "twenty great nonpartisan national" groups. The campaign is the major assignment of the foundation for the current year.

Governors of all 48 states have endorsed the program and offered their cooperation. Campaign packets with slogans, suggestions for local advertising, publicity, bulletins, announcements, etc., will go to communities all over the country to be used by local groups to encourage citizens to register now to assure their opportunity to vote in the presidential election.

Department Heads Attend Management Seminars

University Brings Experts to Wisconsin Cabinet Meetings

REGULAR meetings of Governor Walter J. Kohler of Wisconsin and his department heads were turned into high level seminars in public administration in a series of meetings held last year with the cooperation of the Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division and the Bureau of Personnel of the state government. A mimeographed verbatim report has been issued by the state under the title *Governor's Meetings on State Administrative Management* (45 pages). The report covers three sessions:

January 19, 1951, "State Budget Administration," Governor Kohler presiding, James G. Charlesworth, University of Pennsylvania, speaker;

January 26, 1951, "Overall Management in Public Administration," Arthur E. Wegner, governor's financial secretary, presiding, Dean Paul Appleby, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, speaker;

May 4, 1951, "Techniques of Administrative Delegation and Direction," Arthur E. Wegner, presiding, Lorentz H. Adolphson, director, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, speaker.

The program was undertaken at the request of department heads themselves. The sessions were planned so that lunch intervened between the opening lecture by the visiting expert and the question and discussion period.

This Wisconsin experiment might well be emulated in 47 other states and in hundreds of cities. It might not be a bad idea even in Washington, D. C. The end results of in-service training have often been limited because of the failure of top administrators to keep pace in knowledge of their trade with their subordinates. The fact is that top administrators, including usually the governor or the mayor, are commonly more innocent of training or experience in administration than many of those lower down in the echelons.

This is, of course, a natural, largely unavoidable, result of the quite proper working of our political system that selects persons for top positions more on the basis of policy and public relations than of proved administrative ability. Widespread emulation of the Wisconsin example could provide a much needed corrective for this inherent weakness in the democratic process.

Oldest State Research Bureaus

The Taxpayers Association of New Mexico was organized September 1, 1915, followed in October by the creation of the Research Bureau of the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce. The directors of these bureaus believe that they are the oldest of their kind in the country operating on a state basis.

The New Mexico association was antedated by a similar group in Arizona created in 1914 which was, however, discontinued several years ago.

Welfare Survey

The Washington State Taxpayers Association is conducting a nationwide survey on public welfare legislation by means of a questionnaire to other state associations. The objective

is stabilization of Washington's welfare program. The survey includes questions on opening of welfare rolls to public examination, the recovery clause and relative responsibility. Additional information will be given in forthcoming issues of the association's *Tax Facts.*

Bureau Notes

The 1952 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held at Shawnee Inn, Shawnee, Pennsylvania, on September 10, 11 and 12. Copies of the tentative program are available from the office of the GRA, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana (Baton Rouge), organized a year ago, announces that its membership has risen to 791, an average increase of 73 members per month, with total contributions at $93,-907.50. The council plans to provide an analytical reporting and information service to citizens and officials on all activities of the state legislature. The research division will prepare research reports on the need for constitutional revision in Louisiana.

Efficiency, Economy and Sound Management in Local Government is a six-page report on the activities of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research since its organization in 1945.

Bureau Reports

Effective Research, Unified Action, Consistent Results. Oakland 12, California, Alameda County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 21 pp. Maps, charts.

Theory and Practice—The League Reports on Last Year's Work and This Year's Program. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* January 1952. 19 pp.

Report by the Director—38th Annual Meeting; Held on January 25, 1952. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 18, 1952. 7 pp.

Research Reports and Articles

Aeronautics

Aeronautics Administration in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* March 1952. 4 pp.

Assessments

Equalizing Assessments of City Properties—What, Why and How. By Cecil Morgan. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Technical Bulletin,* March 1952. 27 pp.

1952 Assessed Valuation Trends in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 4, 1952. 3 pp.

Authorities

Government by "Authorities" for New Jersey? Newark 2, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental and Economic Research, 1952. 15 pp.

Budgets

Changes in the Form of the Cleveland City Budget. (With sample pages of the new and old budget forms.) Cleveland, The Citizens League and Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 3 pp.

City Fiscal Practices Distort Fund Purpose — League Analysis Finds Weak Budget Control. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Child Welfare

Oregon Adoption Laws and Procedures. Portland (Oregon), City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 28, 1952. 28 pp.

Debt

City's Debt Reaches $167 Per Bostonian. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 8, 1952. 2 pp.

Outstanding Debt—City of Houston, December 31, 1951. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 9 pp.

Public Debt Trends of Milwaukee's 31 Local Taxing Bodies. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 12, 1952. 3 pp.

Directories

A Directory of State and Federal Officials 1952. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1952. 2 pp.

Directory of the Personnel of Our City Government 1952. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1952. 6 pp.

Education

High Level of School Expenditures in New Jersey. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* February 1952. 8 pp. Tables.

High School Finances. Poughkeepsie (New York), Area Development Association, *Plans and Action,* March 13, 1952. 13 pp. Tables.

A Recommended State School Support Program for New Jersey (Part One). Report of the New Jersey State School Aid Commission. Trenton, the Commission, 1952. 46 pp.

School Problem Presents Challenge and an Opportunity. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), February 1952. 2 pp.

State Aid to Chicago Schools. (An open letter to the School Problems Commission, State of Illinois.) Chicago 2, The Civic Federation (bulletin), March 13, 1952. 6 pp.

Elections and Voting

Municipal Elections in Washington State. Election Procedure in Municipalities of the Fourth Class. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* February 1952. 14 and 23 pp. respectively.

Voting and Elections in Florida. By Hulda Grobman and William F. Larsen. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 16 pp.

Interstate Compacts

Solving Interstate Problems by Compact. By Harriet M. Shedd. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1952. 3 pp.

Judiciary

Is an Additional City Court Judge Necessary? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* February 29, 1952. 6 pp.

Wisconsin Court System. Jurisdiction of Courts. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* March 1952. 4 and 3 pp. respectively.

Juvenile Delinquency

Home—School—and Delinquency: Report of Section on Delinquency by J. C. Russell; In Support of the Section's Report by Dr. W. M. Weiner; In Criticism of the Section's Report by Walter Polland; and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), March 31, 1952. 17 pp. 25 cents.

Legislatures

Legislative Broadcasting and Recording. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. iii, 34 pp.

Military Establishments

Michigan Military Establishment. (Staff Report No. 26.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 53 pp.

Municipal Regulations

Municipal Regulation of Blasting. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsyl-

vania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Municipal Reorganization

Survey Committee Submits Six Reports. (Municipal Government Survey Advisory Committee submits reports based on surveys of purchasing department, real estate department, accounting, budgeting, records management and the department of public works—only major recommendations and those effecting monetary savings are listed.) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* March 21, 1952. 3 pp.

Parking

The New Parking Ticket. Waterbury 2, Waterbury Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* February 28, 1952. 2 pp.

Parking in the Newark Central Business District 1951. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1952. 44 pp.

Planning

A Comprehensive Planning Survey of Newton, Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 67 pp. Tables, maps.

Pollution

Stream Pollution Control Program. By R. P. Farrell. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* January 1952. 6 pp.

Population

Population of Counties. By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* February 1952. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Public Welfare

Selection of a New Superintendent of Public Welfare. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* March 25, 1952. 2 pp.

Social Welfare Survey. An Analysis of General Relief. (From *Effective Research, Unified Action, Consistent Results.*) Oakland 12, California, Alameda County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 4 and 25 pp. respectively. Tables.

Welfare—Public Assistance. Staff Report to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 27 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing in the Schenectady County Highway Department: System and Records. Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* March 26, 1952. 5 pp.

Rat Control

How to Rid the Community of Rodents. By William Hunter Owen. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* February 1952. 5 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Apportionment in New Jersey. A Survey of Modern Methods Available. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 25 pp.

Legislative Apportionment in Pennsylvania. By Tadeusz Z. Korsak and Richard Di Salle. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, *Law Review,* Winter 1951. 29 pp. $1.

Problems of Legislative Apportionment. By Mrs. Ronald Christie. Chicago 1, League of Women Voters of Illinois, 1951. 13 pp. 15 cents.

Reapportionment. Madison 3, League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, 1952. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Special Districts

Special Districts in Pennsylvania. By Charles F. LeeDecker. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, *Municipal Finance,* February 1952. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Spoils System

Municipal Reform. Political Patronage (in two parts). Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* February 7, 14 and 21, 1952. 4 pp. each.

Statehood

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* March 15, 1952. 3 pp.

State Property

Building Engineering and Management. (Staff Report No. 25). Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 38 pp.

State Reorganization

Mississippi—A Report on State Reorganization. (Technical Staff—Bureau of Public Administration, University of Mississippi.) Jackson, Mississippi Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 104 pp.

Taxation and Finance

How New Haven Compares. (Finances of 25 cities compared.) New Haven 10 (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* February 29, 1952. 2 pp.

The New Mexico Bureau of Revenue. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* February 1952. 3 pp.

1951 City Costs Increased 6.47%. Cities Under 5,000 Increase Costs 11.87%. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *The Iowa Taxpayer,* February 4 and March 3, 1952. 3 pp. each.

Pertinent Financial Data City of Baltimore As At January 1, 1952. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1952. 16 pp.

Recent Problems and Developments in Property Tax Exemptions. By Harry W. Wolkstein. (Address before Annual Conference of National Tax Association, Dallas, Texas, November 26, 1951.) Newark, 1952. 7 pp. (Apply author, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.)

Survey of Grade Separation Financing in the United States, States and Selected Metropolitan Cities. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 48 pp.

Taxable Valuations in California. By Richard Winter. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* January 1952. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Ten Years of Total Property Tax Levies in California Counties. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* February 1952. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Trends in Public Finance as They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee—Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance as of June 30, 1951. Nashville 3, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1952. 43 pp.

A Two-year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1952. 5 pp.

Tax Limitation

Proposed Constitutional Tax Limitations. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 6 pp.

Units of Government

Wisconsin Government. Framework of Wisconsin Government Includes Over 7,000 Units; 1,888 General Governments. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1952. 6 pp.

Water

A Basic Water Use Problem in South Dakota. (New state water laws needed.) By Kenneth E. Raschke. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Books in Review

Politics Is What You Make It. By Joseph E. McLean. New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 32 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

This pamphlet is like a good sermon. It includes a few quick descriptions of the not so private hell of the ineffective citizen and a few tantalizing views of political heaven, and it is full of practical instructions about the good works and guideposts that lead to salvation. If the 23 cartoons are not precisely in the mood of an old edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, they are excellent and thoroughly in keeping with the text.

The pamphlet differs from the orthodox sermon of yesterday in two important particulars. First, it is short and nobody is likely to go to sleep until he has finished it. Second, it admits of more than one road to salvation.

The second point is particularly important. The pamphlet puts proper stress on becoming an active force in the party of your choice, but it recognizes that salvation is not by the partisan road alone. The pamphlet will help puzzled citizens make up their minds, in the light of their own temperaments and the situations in their communities, whether they can best throw their weight by concentrating on party work or by devoting themselves to non-partisan political activity or by combining the two.

The pamphlet appropriately concludes with ten commandments, or rather "suggestions that may help the year-round citizen improve his effectiveness" and includes a brief bibliography and "a check list for the citizen politician" to help him protect himself against missing any important election dates or contests.

Politics Is What You Make It should be read by millions of people, young and old, during the next few months. It is good solid ammunition for the campaign sponsored by The American Heritage Foundation to bring out an unprecedented vote in this 1952 presidential year. More important, the pamphlet should have continuing use for a long time to come both among adults and in civic education programs in schools and colleges. Organizations and institutions that want to help their members help themselves become more effective citizens could well begin by purchasing this pamphlet in quantity.

J.E.B.

Police Organization and Management. By V. A. Leonard. Brooklyn, New York, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1951. xviii, 507 pp. $5.

Like O. W. Wilson's *Police Administration* which appeared about a year ago, Professor Leonard's new book is confined to the problems that arise in city police forces. While this current work has its good points it is overburdened with illustrative material, some of it of questionable pertinence to the subject, and suffers also from inferior standards of editing and manufacture.

Sixty pages, that appear to have been lifted in their entirety from an academic catalogue, list in the most consuming detail the various curricula offered by the Department of Police Science and Administration at the State College of Washington. One-third of the chapter on the executive consists of a preliminary circular and application form that were used in selecting a police chief for Seattle several years ago. Four pages are

devoted to a record of earthquake shocks in western Washington since 1950. In these and other respects the book displays a preoccupation with west coast problems, standards and achievements in the police field.

Some of the illustrative materials are outdated. The 1946 range of salaries for police chiefs is scarcely helpful after five years of postwar inflation, and 1944 practices in the use of one-man patrol cars are too much colored by the police manpower shortages then prevailing to have much current application or meaning.

These strictures should not divert attention from the fact that Professor Leonard has substantial qualifications for police authorship, that his professional outlook is elevated, and that he fearlessly evaluates the strength and weakness of our municipal forces.

We liked best Chapter 7—"Patrol—Major Component of Manpower," which is so clear, coherent and penetrating in its analysis as to stand as the best treatment of the subject that we have seen.

BRUCE SMITH
Institute of Public Administration

The Hampton Roads Communities in World War II. By The Hampton Roads-Peninsula War Studies Committee, Charles F. Marsh, Editor. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951. xv, 337 pp. $6.

This fine job is a historical report accumulated by a War Studies Committee created by the Division of Social Sciences of the neighboring College of William and Mary, financed by a 1945 grant of $31,500 by the Rockefeller Foundation. It covers in turn the social, economic and governmental problems caused by the vast influx of new population, including such diverse topics as prostitution and war marriages, labor relations and the efforts to bring about consolidations of political units and adequate standards of administration, planning and public finance.

A superb study and of interest to all the other areas wrestling with similar turbulent conditions.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Administration

Administrative Procedure Legislation in the States. By Ferrel Heady. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1952. 137 pp. $1.

Bonds

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1951. New York 4, The Bond Buyer, 1952. 154 pp.

Civil Service

Government Employment. By Michael Marsh. Washington, D. C., Editorial Research Reports, 1951. 16 pp.

Crime

Handbook of Criminal Investigation. A Self-teaching Manual with Over 200 Questions and Answers. By Col. Maurice J. Fitzgerald. Edited by Paul B. Weston. New York, Greenberg, 1951. xvi, 234 pp. $3.50.

Cultural Centers

Cultural Center Plan. Norfolk, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1952. 14 pp. Charts.

Industrial Dispersion

National Industrial Dispersion Program. A Question and Answer Guide. Executive Office of the President, National Security Resources Board, Washington, D. C., 1952. 12 pp.

Land Subdivision

Suggested Land Subdivision Regulations. By Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 65 pp. 45 cents.

Noise Abatement

Proceedings of the Second Annual National Noise Abatement Symposium, October 5, 1951. Sponsored by the Acoustical Society of America, National Research Council, National Noise Abatement Council, Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology. Chicago 16, Technical Center, 1952. 108 pp. $1.

Parking

The Effectiveness of Parking Agencies. Trends in Legislation for Off-street Parking Facilities. By David R. Levin. (Addresses presented before the Annual Meeting of the Highway Research Board.) Washington, D. C., Highway Research Board, 1952. 44 and 38 pp. respectively.

Planning

Financing Capital Improvements in Maryland. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1951. 66 pp.

Public Affairs

A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs. By E. E. Schattschneider, Victor Jones and Stephen K. Bailey. New York, William Sloane Associates, 1952. 135 pp. $1.50.

Public Records

Protecting Local Public Records Against Bombing Attacks. Albany, New York, Division of Archives and History, State Education Department, 1952. 18 pp.

Recreation

Recreation in Western Maryland. . . A Major Economic Asset. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 194 pp. Maps.

Shopping Centers

A Case of Contrast in Suburban Stores. Department Store Trends in the Development of Shopping Centers. By Larry Smith. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* February and March 1952. 3 and 5 pp. respectively.

State Government

Essentials of Missouri Government (Second Edition). By Robert F. Karsch. Columbia, Missouri, Lucas Brothers, 1952. 156 pp. Charts.

Traffic

Directing Traffic—What It Is and What It Does. Skidmarks. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1952. 12 and 10 pp. respectively, 25 cents each. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

THEY LEARN ABOUT ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 245)

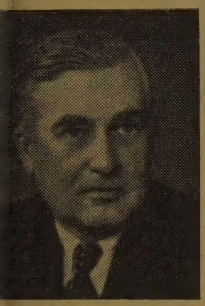
seats — Eisenhower, Taft, Warren; Democrats, one — Kefauver; and Socialists, one — Thomas.

A summary of the results for each election was prepared for posting on campus bulletin boards along with the filled in tabular forms from the central count. An abbreviated and somewhat dramatized version of the central count was prepared and given a tape recording immediately after the count for radio presentation.

The demonstration has started a series of questions that keeps a professor of political science busy. The point seems to have been pretty well driven home that western democratic institutions must depend upon the combination of fair representation with effective political leadership and that, though no method of election can be perfect, some methods are more equitable than others.

dison Plea Stirs Big Response

An article entitled "Are You a Good izen?" by Charles Edison, chairman the National Municipal League's uncil, which appeared in the Febru- 17 issue of *The American Weekly*, aroused a nation-wide reaction, indicative of the current citizen concern for the improvement of public affairs.



Charles Edison

The American Weekly, which appears each Sunday in 22 newspapers and s a circulation of approximately ten illion, reported an unusually large mber of favorable comments and re- ests for reprints.

These came from civic, taxpayer and bor organizations in all parts of the untry. Typical comment reported by e publication was, "It is hard to find aterial which average persons will ad on politics but I think Mr. Edison's ticle is just that."

Senator Owen Brewster read the ticle into the *Congressional Record* id campaign headquarters for a candi- te for United States senator requested pies for distribution.

The National Federation of Business id Professional Women's Clubs asked r reprints for use in its public affairs rogram. The Leagues of Women oters, parent-teachers associations and her groups asked for reprints for use y study groups, as did a history acher and various individuals.

Mr. Edison in the article inveighed gainst the failure of many citizens to vote and participate in political party and civic organization activities and argued that "we must look to the roots of our democracy in our home towns, large and small."

"We can't have good government in Washington," he continued, "until we have it at home first."

He wrote that many people who complain against federal centralization actually promote it by ignoring local affairs and "by failing to provide leadership, encouragement and the money needed to support strong citizen organizations . . . in their own communities."

Bates Chosen a Vice President

Lester L. Bates, civic leader and member of the city council of Columbia, South Carolina, was elected a regional vice president of the National Municipal League at a meeting of the executive committee held March 12 in New York.

Mr. Bates, who is president of the Capital Life and Health Insurance Company, Columbia, was active in the successful movement for the council-manager plan in his city in 1950.

He attended the League's Cincinnati Conference and told the story of Columbia's progress before the "All-American Cities" jury.

It was his experience as a member of the city commission under the old form of government that prompted Mr. Bates to become a strong advocate of a modern charter and of greater citizen participation in public affairs.

He was a candidate for governor in the last South Carolina state election, running second to James F. Byrnes.

President Appoints Nominating Committee

A nominating committee of five League members has been appointed by President Henry Bruère to recommend candidates for officers and Council members for election at the annual meeting to be held November 17 in connection with the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.

Members of the committee are:

William Collins, New York, regional vice president; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago, member of the Council; Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge, regional vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, treasurer, and Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, New Jersey, member of the Council.

Headquarters Hotel Picked for Conference

The Gunter Hotel has been chosen as headquarters for the National Conference on Government in San Antonio, November 17, 18 and 19.

The Gunter, centrally located, is completely air conditioned. Single rooms are from $5 to $7, double rooms from $6 to $9 (double bed) and $7 to $12 (twin beds).

Room reservations should be made directly with the hotel, which is holding 200 rooms available for Conference goers. The Conference should be mentioned in making reservations.

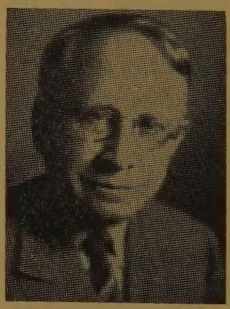
Model Constitution Used in Puerto Rico

All delegates to the recent convention which revised the constitution of Puerto Rico were provided with copies of the League's *Model State Constitution*, as has also been the case in recent state conventions.

The Puerto Rican edition, reprinted especially for the purpose by the University of Puerto Rico, included a foreword by Jaime Benitez, chancellor.

Reed Report Sent to Sustaining Members

By arrangement with the Citizenship Clearing House, copies of the report *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*, were sent in April to all NML sustaining members (those paying dues of $10 a year or more).



Thomas H. Reed

The report, by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, is based on their nation-wide study of courses and other training in colleges and universities designed to encourage participation in politics. The study, under auspices of the Clearing House, was financed by a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation. Dr. Reed's address at the League's Cincinnati Conference last year was based on this study.

Other publications sent to sustaining members during the first four months of 1952 were:

A Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, a joint project by the League and five other national organizations; *Secretary's Report for 1951*, revised edition of *The Story of the Council-manager Plan; Are You Satisfied?*, a cartoon pamphlet about the council-manager plan; *Politics Is What You Make It*, a Public Affairs Committee pamphlet; and *What Are the Elements of Continued Successful Operation for the Council-manager Plan of Municipal Government?*, an address.